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The Prose Writers of Canada . . . . . .

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S. E. DAWSON

THE

PROSE WRITERS OF CANADA

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE TEACHERS OF THE CITY AND DISTRICT OF MONTREAL

18 23

By S. E. DAWSON, Lit.D. (Laval) F.R.S.C.

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MONTREAL

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The following address was prepared for the American Library Association and delivered on June 11, 1900, at Montreal, where the meeting for that year was held. It was afterwards read, with a few additions, on December 7, 1900, in a winter course of lectures to the teachers of the City and District of Montreal.

The fact that it was written originally for the librarians of America will account for the line of thought running through the address; because, outside of a few great institutions, few Canadian books are found in the libraries of the United States. It was intended to be an indication of the directions in which they were to look in order to follow up a neglected department of literature. In the time allotted it could not possibly be more than that.

OTTAWA, January, 1901.

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THE PROSE WRITERS OF CANADA.

It is not possible in the compass of one lecture to give an adequate account of the prose writers of Canada. In the first place there is the difficulty of dealing with a bi-lingual literature, and then there is the difficulty of separating that which deserves mention from the current mass of printed communication. When one is called upon—in this age of newspapers and magazines—to decide as to what is and what is not prose literature the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that some of our best prose writers have never published a single detached volume.

In a general review such as this, it will be profitable to inquire into the circumstances under which Canadian literature originated and by which it was directed into its actual channels, when we will at once perceive that, with reference to the history of the other nations of America, Canada is both young and old. Jamestown, the first English settlement on this continent, was founded in 1607. It has been desolate for two hundred years, but Quebec—founded in 1608, only one year later—is still flourishing. Besides being brave soldiers and skilful seamen, both Samuel de Champlain and Captain John Smith were authors and led the way in English and French prose writing in America ; but there was a break in the continuity of development in the North, while, in the South, the colony of Massachusetts became the

centre of an intellectual life which, though it flowed in a narrow channel, was intense and uninterrupted.

Canadian literature and Canadian history open with the works of Samuel de Champlain. Champlain was an author in the fullest sense of the word ; for he even illustrated his own works and drew excellent maps which he published with them. His works include not only his voyages in Acadia and Canada, but his previous voyage to the West Indies and his description of Mexico. He wrote also short treatises on navigation and map-making which are still useful to explain early cartography. The edition of his works published at Quebec in 1870, under the auspices of Laval University, is a monument of the scholarship of the Abbé Laverdière, its editor, and of the generosity of its publisher. A librarian need no longer spend money upon original editions, for this is the most complete of all, and it is besides, the most creditable specimen of the printer's art ever published in Canada.

From the time of Champlain down to the conquest in 1759 learned and cultivated men, ecclesiastics for the most part, wrote in and about Canada ; but their books were published in Europe. Marc Lescarbot, a companion of Champlain in Acadia, wrote, in French, a history of New France and enticed " Les Muses de la Nouvelle France " to sing beside the rushing tides of the Bay of Fundy. Then came the long series of Jesuit Relations, the books of Father Le Clercq, the Latin history of Du Creux, the learned work of Father Lafiteau, the letters of Marie Guyart, the Huron Dictionary and the History of Father Sagard, the Travels of Hennepin, the general treatise of Bacqueville de La Potherie, and the works of Father Charlevoix, still the great resource of writers on Canadian subjects. There were many others. There was De Tonti—never since Jonathan was there friendship so devoted as his was to La Salle. There was Denys—the capable and enterprising governor of Cape Breton ; and Boucher—the plain colonist from the frontier post of Three Rivers (then beset with savage Iroquois) who stood up before

the Great King and pleaded the cause of the despairing colony—and then, lest we become too serious, we have that frivolous young officer, the Baron de Lahontan, who paid off the pious priests of Montreal for tearing leaves out of his naughty pagan books by telling slanderous stories of all the good people of Canada.

But this literature, while considerable in extent, was not indigenous to the soil ; although in quality it was, perhaps, superior to that of the English colonies. There were educational institutions and teaching orders and cultivated people ; but education did not reach the mass. A printing press was set up at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the year 1639, but one hundred and twenty years later, when Canada passed under British rule, there was not one printing press in the whole of New France. Even the card money was hand-written and the Ordonnances—a sort of government debentures passing current as money—were printed in France. There was in New France a polite and cultivated society ; but the literature which existed was a reflex of the culture of Old France—of the France of the Bourbon Kings. This jealousy of the press in Canada is very remarkable, because there was at least one printing press in Mexico in 1539, and in Peru in 1586.

Upon a people thus socially organized the English conquest fell with great force, for, at the peace in 1763, when New France was definitively ceded, a large number of the educated laymen emigrated to France and left the people without their natural leaders.

I am aware that this has been recently disputed ; but I am loath to believe that Bibaud, Garneau, and above all the conscientious and judicious Abbé Ferland can be in error. The truth lies probably between the two extremes, and it will be safer to say that those who had any concern with the French government or army, or who had any claims upon or connection with the French Court emigrated. Now when we consider that the government was despotic and that there was

no semblance of free institutions to afford an outlet for independent energy or ambition, we will recognise the effect of such an emigration. It is to the honour of the clergy that they did not abandon their charge. Bowing to circumstances beyond their control, they severed their connection with their Motherland; and, if French literature in Canada now breathes with a life all its own, it is due to the Church which sustained it in its time of sore discouragement. Literature could not flourish under such conditions; moreover, French and English Canadians both had yet to undergo many trials and many political and military experiences. These they shared in common; for in those days intermarriages were frequent and the two races understood each other better than they do now. Was it because the age of newspapers had not come?

The English who first came to Canada did not come in pursuit of literature; and, besides, the air was charged with electricity; for the treaty of peace had scarcely been ratified when the stamp act was passed. In the ensuing struggle, after some hesitation, the new subjects of England sided with her; for, in the much maligned Quebec Act, she had dealt justly, and even kindly, with them and they rallied to her support. The war swept to the walls of Quebec, and yet the Commissioners of the Continental Congress could not sweep the province into the continental union. Even the astute Franklin, in whose hands Oswald and Hartley and Lord Shelburne were as wax and who was able to outwit even a statesman like Vergennes, was foiled at Montreal by the polite but inflexible resolution of the French Canadian clergy and gentry.

The tide of invasion receded and peace came at last—but not repose; for with peace came the sorrowful procession of proscribed refugees who laid the foundations of English Canada. United Empire Loyalists they were called, and United Empire Loyalists are their descendants to the present day. Well is it for us they were educated men; for the

institutions their fathers had helped to found had to be left behind ; and they set their faces to the unbroken wilderness where the forest came down to the water's edge—where the only roads were Indian trails, or paths made by wild animals through the thickets. The time for literature had not come ; for there were farms to be cleared and roads and bridges and churches and school-houses to be built. All these lay behind them in the homes from which they had been driven. Clearly then, if we want original Canadian works for our libraries, we must pass over these years.

But not yet was this people to find repose, for our grandparents had scant time to organize themselves into civil communities when war broke out again and once more they took up arms for the principles they held dear. The struggle was exhausting, for they had to fight almost alone. The Mother-country could give very little assistance, because she was engaged in a life and death conflict with a world in arms. In that "splendid isolation," which has more than once been the destiny of England, the little, half-French, half-English, dependency stood firm ; but her frontiers were again swept by invasion. The destruction of war and subsequent recovery from its effects postponed again the era of literature ; for our land was all border land and felt the scourge of war in its whole extent. At last came peace and the Canadian people could settle down to the normal development of their own institutions—but long, long years had been lost and it was not until 1825 or 1830 that any interest in the pursuit of literature began to be felt.

And now that I have endeavoured to make plain the circumstances which retarded the development of Canadian literature, I will pass on to a short and necessarily imperfect survey of the books of which it is composed, and you will find, as might have been supposed, that our prose literature has naturally followed up those directions which had special reference to practical life.

No one, I think, but Rich, had been devoting himself to

the bibliography of American books when Faribault published in 1837, at Quebec, in French, his "Catalogue of works on the history of America with special reference to those relating to Canada, Acadia and Louisiana." He had served in the war; but when the "Literary and Historical Society" was founded he became one of its most active members. He was president and then perpetual secretary, and in his time were published those reprints of scarce works which are now so rare. He had been chief adviser in collecting the *Americana* in the parliamentary library which was burned in 1849, and he was then sent to Europe to make purchases to replace the loss. Faribault's catalogue contains valuable notes, both original and extracted. It is now very scarce—a copy in the Menzies sale brought $8.00. Morgan's "Bibliotheca Canadensis" is the next in order. It is a work of great industry and covers the whole period from the conquest down to the time of its appearance in 1867. The same writer's "Canadian Men and Women of the Time," published in 1898, practically continues the first work; for, although it contains notices of a vast number of people who are not in the remotest way connected with letters, yet all the *littérateurs* are there—all I said somewhat inadvertently, for there are a few important names omitted.

In 1886 the late Dr. Kingsford published a book called "Canadian Archaeology," dealing with early printed Canadian books, and he supplemented it, in 1892, by another—the "Early Bibliography of Ontario"—for the first had been written too hurriedly to be accurate. Sir John Bourinot also has done excellent work in this field in his "Intellectual Development of the Canadian people," Toronto, 1881, and in a monograph for the Royal Society of Canada, "Canada's Intellectual Strength and Weakness," 1893. A work of great importance on Canadian Bibliography is by Phileas Gagnon—"Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne"—a handsome octavo of 722 pages published by the author at Quebec in 1895. It contains valuable notes and facsimile reprints

of rare title pages. Besides these there is an exhaustive annotated Bibliography, by Macfarlane, of books printed in New Brunswick, St. John, 1895 ; Lareau's "Histoire de la Littérature Canadienne," Montreal, 1874, and Haight's "Catalogue of Canadian Books," Toronto, 1896. I can mention only these few—there are besides innumerable monographs in French and English, separate and in magazines, for the subject is a favourite one with Canadians. The catalogues of the parliamentary library at Ottawa and of the public library at Toronto are also very useful to collectors and students.

The English kings entertained no jealousy of the printing press. William Caxton had a good position at the court of Margaret Plantagenet, Duchess of Burgundy, and her brother, King Edward IV., received him into high favour. In 1503 two of his apprentices were made King's Printers, and since that time there has always existed by patent a royal printer (Regius Impressor) through whom alone the orders and proclamations of the government were issued.

The office of King's printer became thereafter an important factor in English administration and it was introduced into all the colonies. No sooner, therefore, was Canada definitely ceded in 1763 than a printing office became a government necessity at Quebec, and in 1767, Brown and Gilmore published, by authority, a folio volume of Ordinances. William Brown continued to print for the Crown ; but the first imprint which appears to indicate the existence of a formal Royal patent direct from the Crown, is that of William Vondenvelden in 1797. John Bennett was King's printer in Upper Canada in 1801. Christopher Sower was King's printer in New Brunswick in 1785, and John Bushell was King's printer in Nova Scotia as early as 1752. In 1756 we find his name affixed to a proclamation offering £25 for every Micmac scalp. Settlers on the outskirts of Halifax had been losing scalps ; for the Micmacs made their collection a labour of love and the Abbé le Loutre, who controlled

the Micmacs, could buy eighteen British scalps for only 1,800 *livres*. Naturally they had to bid higher at Halifax. All this did not invite to literary pursuits ; but the volumes of statutes and official documents were well printed and, if literature did not flourish, it was not for want of a printing office. These volumes were books but not literature and cannot be noticed here.

It will be of interest to say a few words about the first books—the Canadian *incunabula* so precious to bibliophiles. The first book printed at Quebec was "Le Catéchisme du diocèse de Sens„" Brown and Gilmore, 1764—one year after the cession. Only one copy is now known. Then followed in 1767, an Abridgement of Christian Doctrine, in Montagnais, by Father Labrosse. Then Cugnet's "Traité de la loi des Fiefs"—and other branches of the old French law (for it was in four parts) William Brown, 1775. Cugnet was a very able civil lawyer. He became clerk to the Council and assisted the English Government by advising them upon the old laws of Canada.

The first book printed at Montreal was "Le Réglement de la Confrèrie de l'adoration perpétuelle du Saint Sacrement" —Mesplet and Berger, 1776. Then we have "Le Juge a Paix"—a translation of a portion of Burn's "Justice of the Peace," by J. F. Perrault, a volume of 560 pages 8vo, printed by Mesplets in 1789. Religion and law are the two organizing factors of society, and this practical people were chiefly concerned with conduct in this world, not forgetting regard to the next—in which everybody fully believed. Later on, in 1810, we find the imprint of Nathan Mower on a reprint of Bishop Porteous' "Evidences." In 1812 appeared Blyth's "Narrative of the death of Louis XVI.," and in 1816, a volume of Roman Catholic prayers in Iroquois. These are not all the books printed in those years, but the titles indicate the tendencies of the people.

We have in Huston's "Répertoire National" (the first edition of which is very scarce, but which was reprinted in

four volumes at Montreal in 1893) a collection of extracts—in fact a cyclopedia of native French Canadian literature, from the earliest times down to 1848. One piece alone (a poem) bears date prior to the English period. It is dated 1734. From 1778 to 1802 there are only twelve articles. It was not until 1832 that the French national spirit became thoroughly awake and from that year the extracts became increasingly numerous. The first books in general literature began to appear in 1830 and 1831, and in 1832, the Legislative Assembly passed the first Copyright Act. That year would then be a convenient date from which to reckon the revival of literature in Canada. Do not suppose that the Canadian people were uncultivated in those days. Although they were too busy to become writers they were great readers and there were more book-stores, in proportion to the population, than now.

The first book in general literature published in Upper Canada was a novel, "St. Ursula's Convent, or the Nun of Canada," printed at Kingston in 1824. There was also a press at Niagara (on the Lake) which did some reprinting; for we find that, in 1831, Southey's "Life of Nelson" and Galt's "Life of Byron" were printed there. The same press issued, in 1832, an original work by David Thompson, a "History of the War of 1812," and in 1836 was printed at Toronto a book of 152 pages in octavo, "The Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, and the Origin of the North American Indians." This book was reprinted in the United States.

I cannot pretend in a paper like this to give more than a general indication of the extent of publication in those days. There were books and pamphlets I shall not have space to mention; but there were very few books published in Lower Canada before 1833, and in Upper Canada before 1841. During all that period, however, there were many prose writers; for the newspaper press was very active and, in the times before telegraphs when news came by letter, the news-

papers contained more original matter, compared with advertisements, than they do now. Newspapers did not contain so many contradictory statements, for there was more time to secure accuracy. They were diligently read and editorials were more valued than now. Dare I say they were more carefully written ?

The political circumstances of Canada are so exceptional that almost every problem which can arise in the domain of politics has been, at some time or other, encountered by our statesmen. Questions of race, of language, of religion, of education—questions of local government, of provincial autonomy, of federative union—of the relative obligations between an imperial central power and self governing colonies, have all been, of necessity, threshed out in the Dominion of Canada. Their underlying principles have not only been laid bare, but legislation has built firm social and political structures upon them. For this reason there has always been a great deal of political pamphleteering in Canada and of solid thinking also which, in later days, and in larger communities, would have been expanded into books. I have a great respect for a pamphlet upon a serious subject ; because I feel sure the author did not write it for money, but because he had something to say. Pamphlets come hot from the brain of a man who cannot help writing. Great revolutions have been wrought by pamphlets falling, like burning coals, upon inflammable materials. Many of the pamphlets relate to the union of the colonies. Many of them look forward to the organization of the Empire, but, able though many of them were the times were not ripe. The people of England were then, as they still are, in political thought far behind the colonists.

For the reasons cited above the number of our prose writers who have devoted their labours to constitutional and parliamentary history and law is large. Two, however, stand out before the others and have won high reputations throughout Britain and her Colonies. Dr. Alpheus Todd and Sir

John Bourinot are known wherever parliamentary institutions are studied. Dr. Todd's chief work "Parliamentary Government in England" is one of the great standard authorities. It has passed through two editions, and a condensed edition has been published by a leading English writer. It has also been translated into German and Italian. He wrote also a work, indispensable to the self governing colonies of the Empire, "Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies," in which is set forth in clear detail and with abounding references the mode of adaptation of the British parliamentary system to all the diverse colonies of the Empire.

The name of Sir John Bourinot, the Clerk of the House of Commons, must frequently be mentioned in any account of Canadian literature. His literary work is large in extent and is valued throughout all English speaking communities. His "Parliamentary Procedure" is the accepted authority of our Parliament. His "Constitutional History of Canada" is the best manual on the subject. His two series of "Lectures on Federal Government in Canada" and "Local Government in Canada" have been published in the Johns-Hopkins "University Studies," and his "Comparative Study of the Political Systems of Canada and the United States," read before Harvard University and the Johns-Hopkins School of Political Science, has been published in the "Annals of the American Academy of Political Science." On these and kindred subjects he has contributed largely not only to the periodicals of his native country, but to reviews in England and in the United States.

Although I have specially mentioned these two writers there are many others who have done important work in this field ; as, for instance, Prof. Ashley, now of Harvard, whose "Lectures on the earlier constitutional history of Canada" are highly esteemed, and William H. Clement, whose volume on "Canadian Constitutional Law" is the text book at Toronto University. The field was very wide and from the

first the problems to be solved after the cession were complex and difficult. A people, alien in race, religion, and language, and immensely superior in numbers, were to be governed, not as serfs, but as freemen and equals. It was a civilization and a system of law equal to their own with which the English had to reckon ; and with a religion which penetrated to the very foundation of society as deeply as did their own national churches. The subject is profoundly interesting and there is a mass of literature relating to it. A few English immigrants who came in from the southern colonies immediately after the conquest thought to govern the country without reference to the institutions of the conquered people and the early English governors, General Murray and Lord Dorchester, were to the French Canadians a wall of defence. The period may be studied in the works of Baron Masères, a man of great ability who was Attorney General of the Province and afterward Baron of the Exchequer Court in England. He was of Huguenot stock and had strong anti-Roman prejudices though personally very amiable. He could not see why the French should not prefer the English civil and ecclesiastical laws and wrote a number of books to persuade them to do so. He utterly failed to comprehend the French Canadians, though he was French in race and spoke and wrote French like a native. Later on came the discussions which led to the division of the province and the separation of Upper from Lower Canada. Then followed the agitations of Papineau in the Lower, and of Gourlay and Mackenzie in the Upper Province, with an abundant crop of pamphlets leading up to the re-union.

But while these were sometimes merely party pamphlets of no real value, there was also much writing by such men as the Howes, Sewells, Stuarts, Robinsons, Haliburtons and others of refugee stock. These men were exponents of views concerning the destiny of the English race and the importance of an organization of the Empire which had been held by Shirley, Hutchinson, Dickinson, and even by Franklin

himself in 1754 and down to a short time previous to the Revolution. The Loyalists had been, and these men were, as jealous of constitutional freedom as the leaders of the popular party. Their successors in our days, Col. Denison, Dr. Parkin, O. W. Howland and the Imperial Federation League, as well as our youth who have so recently fought in South Africa are the heirs and representatives of the men who dreamed that great dream which Thomas Pownall (governor of the colonies of South Carolina, New York and Massachusetts from 1753 to 1768) printed in capital letters in his "Administration of the Colonies," namely, that "Great Britain might no more be considered as the kingdom of this isle only, with many appendages of provinces, colonies, settlements and other extraneous parts, but as a great marine dominion consisting of our possessions in the Atlantic and in America united into a one Empire in a one centre, where the seat of government is." The dream was shut up for many days—and even many years; for the times of the "little Englanders" were to come.; but it may be that, in the latter days, if not a *pax Britannica* a *pax Anglicana* may reach round the world—a peace of justice, of freedom, of equality before the law—and who can tell where the centre of the English speaking world may then be?

The history of Canada and of its separate provinces has been the favourite theme of our writers of prose. The histories written during the French régime were published in France; but, soon after the cession, a new movement towards the study of Canadian history commenced. Heriot —Deputy Postmaster General of Canada—wrote, in 1804, a "History of Canada," of which only one volume appeared, but it was published in London and had no original merit. The first really Canadian history was published by Neilson at Quebec in 1815. It is in two octavo volumes and is very fairly printed. The author, William Smith, was clerk to the Legislative Assembly and, besides Charlevoix (of whose labours he made free use) he had the records of government

at his service. Nevertheless the work is not of much historical value. It is very scarce and a good copy will bring about $40. Robert Christie—a Nova Scotian by birth—is the next in order of date, and his literary work extends over a long life. He wrote a volume on the "Administrations of Craig and Prevost," which was published in 1818, and the same year a "Review of the political state of Canada under Sir Gordon Drummond and Sir John Sherbrooke." He wrote also a "History of Lower Canada from 1791 to 1841" defective in literary form, but valuable as a mine of documents and extracts.

Michel Bibaud's volume of "Épîtres, Chansons, Satires et Épigrammes," published in 1830, marked the commencement of modern French Canadian literature. He wrote also a "History of Canada" in two volumes, published in 1837 and 1844, now very scarce and little referred to. Garneau is the first French Canadian historian worthy of the name, both for literary style and for original research. His history is a work of great merit and, in many respects, has not been surpassed. Garneau's "History" was written in French and the four octavo volumes of which it consists appeared between 1845 and 1852, a period of storm and stress in Canadian politics; hence it is animated by strong prejudice against his English compatriots. There have been several editions in French and there is an English translation by Bell with corrective anti-Gallic footnotes; after the manner of some of the orthodox annotated editions of Gibbon's History.

Very different is the "Histoire du Canada" of the Abbé Ferland, published from 1861 to 1865, at Quebec. It consists of a course of lectures which, as a professor of history, the author delivered at Laval University. The work, unfortunately extends only as far as the cession in 1763. It is the result of great labour and research and is written with impartiality. The same period is covered in English by a carefully written summary by Dr. H. H. Miles. This was published in 1881, and is a very convenient manual of the history of the French domination.

Benjamin Sulte's "Histoire des Canadiens-Francais," published in 1882-1884 in eight quarto parts, is a very valuable history and, if it had been published in a more convenient form, would be known as widely as it deserves to be. The author's minute acquaintance with the inner life of the French Canadian people makes his work necessary for reference. Mr. Sulte is one of our most prolific writers on historical subjects. His style is happy and his information accurate.

Dr. William Kingsford's "History," in 10 volumes octavo, is the most important historical work which has hitherto been produced in Canada, and it extends from the discovery of the country down to the union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841. He wrote with great independence of judgment, and he is the first of our writers to make extensive use of the precious collection of original papers collected by Dr. Brymner, the Dominion Archivist. His industry was indefatigable. His work is enduring, but his reward was inadequate, and the last years of his life were spent in labour which is, now only—after he is dead—commencing to be appreciated.

A notice of the prose writers of Canada is incomplete without mention of the Rev. Dr. Withrow, who has published a work on the Catacombs of Rome, which passed through several editions and met with favour among the reviewers of the United Kingdom. He has written on the "Romance of Missions," and on the "Early History of the Methodist Church," and a list of his works would be too long to give here. A "History of Canada" by him, published in 1880, is highly esteemed. Mr. Charles G. D. Roberts, better known for his poetry, wrote a small popular History of Canada for the Appletons ; but the most convenient manual of the History of Canada is that written by Sir John Bourinot for the "Story of the Nations" series and published in London and New York. An essential volume of reference for the student is Houston's volume of "Documents illustrative of the Canadian constitution, with Notes and Appen-

dixes." It contains the foundation documents of the English period.

The war of 1812-14 is the subject of a number of narratives; but no connected work of special merit or research has appeared. One of the first volumes printed in Upper Canada was David Thompson's "History," published at Niagara in 1832. It is now very rare. There is also a book on that war by Major Richardson, published at Brockville in 1842, and now scarce, and one by Auchinleck, published in Toronto in 1855. Colonel Coffin commenced to write, but his work did not reach a second volume. McMullan's "History of Canada," the first edition of which was printed at Brockville in 1855, contained the best Canadian history of the war until Dr. Kingsford's large work appeared. There are, however, innumerable pamphlets and articles treating of episodes of this war published by local historical societies or in magazines.

I come now to more specialized histories—and what shall I say? for the roll is long and the time is fleeting. There are George Stewart's "Life and Times of Frontenac" in Winsor's great work—Gerald Hart's "Fall of New France" —the Abbé Verreau's collection of "Memoirs on the Invasion of 1775"—the Abbé Casgrain's works on "Montcalm and Levis." There is the great work of the Abbé Faillon on the foundation of Montreal, published by the Gentlemen of the Seminary, and there are also a series of histories, bringing down to the present day the narratives of the general histories, such as Bedard's "Histoire de Cinquante Ans, 1791-1841," Turcotte's "Canada sous L'Union 1841-1867," and David's "L'Union des Deux Canadas." In Ontario there are a large number of corresponding works, such as Dent's "Last Forty Years," and his "Story of the Upper Canada Rebellion." Such books are rich material for the future historian when the calm comes after the heat of political struggle has been dissipated.

Then there are the histories of the separate provinces.

Commencing, where so much commences, with the province by the sea, there is Haliburton's "History of Nova Scotia," in two volumes octavo, published as early as 1829. It is a history based on original research and a work of literature in every sense. Murdoch's "History" in three volumes octavo, is arranged more as annals, and is an important work as a quarry for succeeding writers. Dr. Akins has published valuable extracts from the archives of the province, and Sir John Bourinot's "Builders of Nova Scotia" (written last year for the Royal Society of Canada, but also published separately) will give the reader, not only in the letter press but by the numerous illustrations, a vivid picture of the early days of the colony. Cape Breton, now a part of Nova Scotia—an island interesting from its connection with the discovery of the continent and the eventful episode of Louisbourg—has its histories. Robert Brown wrote a scholarly history of the island and Sir John Bourinot's monograph in the Transactions of the Royal Society has left nothing to be desired.

The first New Brunswick historian was the Rev. Robt. Cooney, who wrote a history of that province, printed at Halifax in 1832. There is also a volume by Alex. Munro; but the "History of Acadia" by James Hannay is the most important work of this class emanating from New Brunswick.

And then there is the North-west with its wild and romantic annals and its literature of exploration, adventure and daring courage. For this you must consult Masson's "Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nordouest," Joseph Tassé's "Les Canadiens de l'Ouest," Beckles Willson's "History of the Hudson's Bay Company," and Dr. Bryce's recent work on the same subject. Manitoba has a group of writers. Professor Bryce's work on Manitoba and his "Short History of the Canadian people" were published in England and are much esteemed. Alexander Begg's "History of the North-west" in three volumes is an important work published in Toronto in 1894. Another writer of the same name has published a "History of British Columbia"—a well written and useful

work. These works (although there are many others I might name) cover the whole area of the continent west of Ontario —to the green slopes of the western ocean and the ice-bound margin of the sluggish polar sea.

A leading American author in one of his early books, writing at Niagara and standing on his own side of the river, says with compassionate sententiousness, "I look across the cataract to a country without a history." He was looking into the emptiness of his own mind ; for, at that very time, his countryman, Parkman, had commenced the brilliant series of histories of this country which have won for him an enduring name. History ! What country of the new world can unroll a record so varied and so vivid with notable deeds ? From this very town went the men who opened out the continent to its inmost heart ; before the English had crossed the Alleghany mountains. The streets of the old city have been thronged with painted warriors of the far unknown west, with boisterous voyageurs, with the white coated soldiers of the French king, and with the scarlet uniforms of the troops of the English crown. For Montreal, from the earliest times, has been the vortex of the conflicting currents of our national life. Few vestiges remain of the old town. The hand of the Philistine has been heavy. It is not so very long since I used to wander with Francis Parkman about the older streets ; but landmark after landmark is gone or has suffered the last indignity of restoration. I remember taking Dean Stanley into the older part of the Seminary with a half apology for its being little more than 200 years old ; while his own abbey reached back for nearly a thousand. "I have learned," he replied, "to look upon two hundred years in America as equivalent to one thousand in Europe." "They both reach back to the origins of things." He had just come from Chicago, and they had shown him thousands of hogs marching to their doom ; but the gentle scholar would not stay to hear an exposition of the amazing economies in the disposal of those hogs, rendered possible by the advance of

science, but started for the east by the next train. It is the mind which apprehends ; for many have eyes and see not ; but to men like Francis Parkman, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Dean Stanley every vestige of the quaint old town brought back memories of a picturesque and adventurous life which had thronged the narrow streets. Narrow—yes, they were narrow, but just as passable after a snow storm and just as clean.

But I have lost my way in the old town with companions of former years. They talked so well that I forgot—I only wanted to explain to my American friend across Niagara that this land has a history and we have matters of surpassing interest to relate. There is the story of the Acadian exile.—Longfellow told it without ever visiting the locality or knowing much of the matter. If you wish to have the responsibility for the action brought home to the doors of the New England Colonies, read Richard's "Acadia," and the series of monographs by the Abbé Casgrain ; but if, on the other hand, you wish to know of the provocations the English suffered you will learn them from Dr. Akins and Lieut.-Governor Archibald. The controversy is keen and, from the conflicting writers, the true motive (if you are clever) may be gathered.

Many of the local histories are full of interest. Histories of Annapolis, Yarmouth, Pictou and Queen's Counties in Nova Scotia ; of St. John, New Brunswick ; of Huntingdon and the Eastern Townships in Quebec ; of Peterborough, Dundas, Welland, and Wentworth in Ontario. Interesting also is the mass of historical and legendary lore collected in numerous volumes by Sir J. M. Lemoine about Quebec and the Lower St. Lawrence. Hawkins's "Picture of Quebec," and Bosworth's "Hochelaga Depicta or Picture of Montreal" are scholarly works now become very scarce, and Dr. Scadding, the learned annalist of Toronto, has written much upon that city and its surroundings. John Ross Robertson's "Landmarks of Toronto," and Graeme Mercer Adam's

Centennial Volume—"Toronto New and Old"—are continuous pictures of the growing life of the Queen City of the Canadian west. Even in the wilderness of Muskoka, to the north of Toronto, is a history written in blood; for there the forest has grown over the sites of the Huron towns and obliterated the traces of a war, ruthless and horrible; but redeemed by the martyrdom of the saintly missionaries expiring under tortures with words of blessing and exhortation on their lips.

All these things have exercised the pens of the prose writers of Canada; but how can I attempt to enumerate the books in which they are recorded? Time is passing and you will soon be weary of my theme, so I must hurry on and turn a deaf ear to those voices of the past.

Much good prose writing exists in Canada under the kindred heading of Biography. The political history of the last sixty years may be found in such works as Lindsay's "Life of William Lyon Mackenzie," in Mackenzie's "Life of George Brown," in Pope's "Life of Sir John A. Macdonald," in Sir Francis Hincks's "Autobiography," and in Buckingham and Ross's "Life of Alexander Mackenzie." The stir of the political arena runs through these, but there are others, such as Read's "Lives of the Judges," his "Life and Times of General Simcoe" and of "Sir Isaac Brock," which are freer from politics. There is also much matter of historical interest interwoven in such biographies as Bethune's "Life of Bishop Strachan," Hodgins's "Life of the Rev. Dr. Ryerson," Patterson's "Life of the Rev. Dr. McGregor."

No—I repeat it—our writers had not to cross the ocean for their inspiration. They had subjects for song and story full of heart-break and tears which they have not yet exhausted, and which some United States writers, notably Lorenzo Sabine of Maine, and Prof. Tyler of Cornell, have treated with generous sympathy. What could be more tragic than the exile of the United Empire Loyalists? There had been nothing like it for many centuries; there was nothing

like it in Alsace, or as a sequel to the late civil war in the United States. Whoever were rebels, these were not ; for they sided with the established existing government. There are not many books devoted specially to this subject, but there is a wilderness of detached monographs and the "Transactions" of the literary societies are full of interesting reading matter concerning it. Canniff's "History of the settlements round the Bay of Quinté" relates the fortunes of the earliest group of refugees in Ontario. The principal work is, however, Dr. Egerton Ryerson's "Loyalists of America and their Times," published at Toronto in 1880. Dr. Ryerson was a strong writer but deficient in literary skill, and his work is rather materials for history than a finished historical treatise.

Much valuable prose writing will be found in the "Transactions" of the learned Societies of Canada ; such as the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, the oldest of all, founded in 1824 ; the Historical Societies of Montreal, of Nova Scotia, of Manitoba ; of the Canadian Institute of Toronto and of the smaller societies.

Then there is the "Canadian Magazine," established in Toronto in 1893—an illustrated magazine of the latest type. The larger universities have periodicals of their own and, in French, among others, is the "Revue Canadienne," published in Montreal since 1864, and containing the best writings of French Canadian littérateurs. The University of Toronto prints an "Annual Review" of all literature relating specially to Canada and extending its survey to works treating of the discovery of the Western World. It is made up of contributions by specialists upon the subjects of the books reviewed, and being edited by the librarian and professor of history in the University, is an exceedingly interesting series. Last, but not least, is the Royal Society of Canada, whose "Annual Transactions," now in their seventeenth year, contain monographs by leading writers of Canada upon the history, literature, and natural history of the country. Of the invaluable services of Dr. Brymner, the Dominion

Archivist, I need not speak. Every librarian in America knows the value of his "Annual Reports" and the research and accuracy of his copious annotations.

It would naturally follow, from what I have told you of the practical character of the Canadian people, that the literature of law is very extensive. This I cannot even touch upon, but would only remark that the variety which distinguishes the Dominion in other matters extends even to this branch of knowledge. While the English law prevails in Ontario and westwards and in the provinces by the sea the Roman Civil Law rules the province of Quebec.

Law books, however, are, of necessity, limited in scope to our own country, but the military instincts of the people, arising perhaps from the constant alarm in which they have grown up, have given us a writer on military history whose reputation extends over Europe. Colonel Denison, of Toronto, wrote in 1868, a work on "Modern Cavalry"; and, in 1877, he published a "History of Cavalry" which won the first prize in a competition instituted by the Emperor of Russia for the best work on that subject. It has been translated into Russian, German, and Hungarian, and is being translated into Japanese. Colonel Denison was the first to recognize that in the school of the American civil war new principles of cavalry service had arisen which were destined to sweep away all the maxims of the European schools. It would have been well if the British Staff College had studied this work—even though it was written by a colonel of colonial militia,—for the principles he laid down are those by which Roberts and Kitchener recently mobilised the army in South Africa.

Among the first books published in Montreal was the "Travels" of Gabriel Franchère—a native of this city, who was one of the founders of Astoria on the Columbia. The volume in its original French form is now exceedingly scarce, but it was translated and printed in New York in 1853. This leads to the remark that the exploration and discovery of the

north and west of this continent has been mainly done by Canadians and Hudson's Bay voyageurs ; although the books have generally been printed out of Canada. Sir Alexander Mackenzie was the first to reach the Pacific and Arctic oceans across the continent by land. His work has been printed in different editions. He was a partner in the North-west Company of Montreal. Henry, whose adventures were published in New York in 1809, was a merchant of this city, and Harmon, whose Travels were published at Andover in 1820, was also a member of the North-west Company. The travels of Ross Cox, Maclean, Ogden, Long and other officers of the great fur companies belong to our literature, though published in England. It was Dease and Simpson, and Rae and Hearne who traced out most of the Arctic coast of America. The work of these men is still being carried on by Tyrrell, McConnell, Low, Bell, and George Dawson, the writings of these last and of many more whom I cannot stop to name, whether published elsewhere or embodied in reports or contributed to foreign periodicals and learned societies, are yet the works of Canadian prose writers.

Canadian writers have also done good work in the archaeology and languages of the Indian tribes. I have already said that among the *incunabula* of Canada are catechisms in Montagnais and Iroquois. Among the chief workers in this field was Dr. Silas Rand. He wrote upon the "History, Manners and Language of the Micmac Tribe," and translated the Gospels and Epistles into Micmac. His Dictionary, English and Micmac, was published at the cost of the government ; and the other half, Micmac into English, is in manuscript at Ottawa. A vote has been passed for money to print it. He wrote also a book on the "Legends of the Micmacs" which was published in New York and London in 1894. Canon O'Meara published the Common Prayer Book, the New Testament, the Pentateuch and a Hymn Book in Ojibway. Bishop Baraga is the author of an Ojibway dictionary and Father Lacombe of one of the Cree language.

Father Petitot, for more than twenty years a missionary in the farthest north, has written much upon the Chippewayan tribes and the Esquimaux people. His works are published for the most part in France, and are better known there than here.

The Abbé Cuoq has published a dictionary of Iroquois and grammars of both Iroquois and Algonquin, besides his "Etudes Philologiques" on both these languages. The Abbé Maurault wrote a "History of the Abenakis," the Rev. Peter Jones (an Ojibway by birth) wrote a history of his people, and a Wyandot, Peter Dooyentate Clarke, wrote a small volume on the "Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandots."

We cannot count the late Horatio Hale as a Canadian writer, although he lived in Canada for the latter years of his life and contributed to the "Transactions of the Royal Society," but we have in the Rev. Dr. Maclean a writer who has both the literary training and the actual experience to make anything from his hand upon Indian life valuable. His work "Canadian Savage Folk—the Native Tribes of Canada," published in 1896 at Toronto, is one of much interest. He is besides a frequent contributor to periodical literature on ethnological subjects.

Sir Daniel Wilson, late Principal of the University of Toronto, although some of his works were written before he came to Canada, must be enrolled among Canadian prose writers, for he was a frequent contributor to the "Canadian Journal," and to the Royal Society on his favourite subjects Archaeology and Ethnology. Some very important works, notably his "Prehistoric Man or Researches into the origin of Civilization in the Old and New World," were written in Canada. Sir William Dawson also wrote much on kindred subjects, and in his book "Fossil Man," he employed the results of a long study of the Indians of Canada to illustrate the character and condition of the pre-historic men of Europe. His son, Dr. George M. Dawson, has not only

written papers of value upon the races and languages of the Pacific Coast, but he has assisted in the publication of many excellent monographs by missionaries resident among the western tribes. I must not close without mention of the Rev. Prof. Campbell. His large work on the Hittites is well known. His contributions on Phoenician, Egyptian, Mexican and Indian ethnology and philology will be found in many Canadian transactions and periodicals.

I ought not to speak of Canadian literature without mention of Dr. Goldwin Smith. He is not a product of our society. He does not think as we do ; but neither does he think as anybody else does. He is *sui generis*—a product of the severest Oxford University culture mitigated by a quarter of a century's residence in Canada. It is not from Canadian springs that he draws the pure, pellucid English that reflects his thought like the still water of a forest lake. It is not from us that he derives that condensation of style—terse without obscurity—revealing great stretches of historic landscape in a few vivid phrases. These are not our gifts—but he could never have written his incomparable "History of the United States" had it not been for the constant attrition of twenty-five years of Canadian society. No unmitigated Oxford professor could have, or rather would have, understood the subject ; and so we may claim some little share in that almost faultless history ; which, if any man read, it will make him well and truly informed upon a subject above all others overlaid with falsehood and bombast. For edification and reproof has Dr. Smith been sent to us by a happy fortune, and though we hit back at times we must be grateful to a man who, in addition to the benefit we have derived from his literary labours, has out of his own private resources stimulated Canadian letters by the establishment or support of such publications as the "Nation," the "Week," the "Canadian Monthly," and the "Bystander."

You will scarcely be surprised if I say that the soil of Canada has not proved productive of writers upon Meta-

physics and Logic. I can remember only two. Prof. J. Clark Murray of McGill, and Prof. Watson of Queen's University. Their works have been published in England and in the United States, and their contributions to leading reviews, in those countries as well as to Canadian periodicals of the higher class, have been frequent. Dr. Murray has written an "Exposition of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy," published in Boston, and a Handbook of Psychology, published in London, and he has translated from the German "The Autobiography of Solomon Maimon"—a pessimistic philosopher who preceded Schopenhauer by more than one hundred years. Prof. Watson has written "Kant and his English critics," Glasgow, 1881; an "Exposition of Schelling," Chicago, 1882; and the "Philosophy of Kant," Glasgow and New York, 1892. Why commercial cities like Chicago, St. Louis and Glasgow, should be centres of philosophical speculation and Montreal and Toronto are impervious to metaphysics is a question worth consideration.

While no very remarkable work in mathematics and physics has yet been done among us, in the natural sciences Canadian writers are known and esteemed all over the world. Every standard book on geology, in America or in Europe, will be found to contain frequent references to Canadian writers and illustrations reproduced from their drawings. McGill University and the Geological Survey were the two centres of this strong eddy towards the study of natural history and the dominant personalities of the principal of one, Sir William Dawson, and the first director of the other, Sir William Logan, were the chief moving springs. Sir William Logan was not a writer of books, beyond his reports, although he was a contributor to learned transactions and reviews; but Sir William Dawson, during all his lifetime, was a most industrious writer of books, monographs and occasional articles. His writings cover the whole area of geology, botany and zoology and, beyond these, the relations between natural science and religion were constantly the subject of

his ready pen. I cannot begin to give you the names, even, of his works ; but I have counted 107 important contributions to transactions of learned societies and reviews, and twenty separate volumes of note. These are but a portion of the total mass of his writings, and his accurate and extensive knowledge and easy style made his works popular throughout the English speaking world. The results of his laborious and self-sacrificing life are around you. Wherever you turn you will see them—and his influence for all that is wise and good and noble will endure in Canada for generations to come.

Other workers in this field are not to be forgotten. The pioneer, Abraham Gesner of Nova Scotia published a volume on the geology of that province as early as 1836. Professor Henry Youle Hind published, in 1860, the scientific results of the expedition of 1857 sent to find a practicable immigrant route from Canada to Fort Garry, now Winnipeg, on the Red River. Three years later he published two volumes of "Explorations in Labrador." He has been a very frequent contributor to the "Canadian Journal," and to other scientific reviews here and in Europe. Nor should Elkanah Billings be forgotten, whose labours in Palaeontology are met with in every text book ; nor G. F. Matthew of St. John, nor Prof. Bailey of Fredericton. The officers of the Geological Survey are among our leading prose writers—the present Director, Dr. George M. Dawson, is known throughout Europe and America as the writer of important works on the geography, geology and natural history of the Dominion and he, as well as Dr. Robt. Bell, Dr. Whiteaves, Prof. Macoun and others, have enriched Canadian literature by numerous contributions to scientific publications.

The set towards the study of the natural sciences was not so dominant in the other cities of Canada, but Prof. Chapman and Dr. Coleman of Toronto are among our writers on chemistry and geology, and Dr. James Douglas now of New York is a writer of authority on all questions of metallurgy and

mining. We must count among our writers, though now connected with Harvard University, Dr. Montagu Chamberlain, a New Brunswicker who has written extensively on the ornithology of Canada and on the Abenaqui and Malicete Indians of his native province, and Ernest Seton Thompson, born in Toronto, but now residing in New York, who has written for the Government of Manitoba upon the ornithology and mammalia of that province. Sir James Lemoine and C. E. Dionne have published studies of the ornithology of Quebec and the late A. N. Montpetit's work, "Les Poissons d'Eau Douce," is an illustrated octavo volume of the ichthyology of the same province.

Any notice of the prose writers of Canada would be very imperfect without mention of Dr. Sterry Hunt who was not only a chemist, geologist and mineralogist of wide reputation, but a graceful and accurate master of English style. His contributions to these sciences extend over the transactions of learned societies in Europe and America and many of them were translated into French, German and Italian. He was born in Connecticut, and the last few years of his life were spent in New York, but all the strength of his manhood was spent in Canada and devoted to Canadian subjects. His chief works are "Mineral Physiology and Physiography," "Mineralogy according to a Natural System," "A new Basis for Chemistry," and a volume of "Chemical and Geological Essays." His life work is stamped with rare originality and has left its impress on the sciences he followed.

Almost while I write a Canadian, well known for his contributions to scientific periodicals and as the leader in the movement for the appraisal of literature, has stepped into the front rank of popular expositors of science. The handsome volume "Flame Electricity and the Camera," by George Iles, is not merely a vivid exposition—it is an original explanation of the rationale of the rapid progress of science during the last years of the century and of the causes of the accelerating speed of its advance.

I had hoped to say a few words about some of those strong prose writers who in the greater newspapers, wield more influence over the Canadian mind than most of the writers of books ; but time will not permit. Not all our newspapers have succumbed to the scrappiness of newsiness. Thoughtful and finished editorials in dignified style may yet be found, in number sufficient to send a note of sweeter reason through the din of political strife. It is in Canada as elsewhere ; the sands are strewn with the wreck of ventures of purely "literary papers free from the ties of party or sect." Such were the "Week" and the "Nation," and many others ; but, although it is abundantly clear that literature alone cannot support a newspaper, the greater newspapers have departments, sacred from intrusion, where reviews are faithfully given and questions of pure literature discussed.

And here let me pause to regret the loss of the excellent literature which lies dead in our dead magazines. From 1824 literature has never been without a witness in our land. Some magazine, French or English, has stood as a living witness that we are not made to live by bread alone ; and afterwards fallen as a dead witness that bread also is necessary in order to live. This is a subject by itself and would require a separate paper to elucidate it fully.

Finally we reach the region of Belles Lettres, sometimes called "pure literature," and here we encounter a strong contrast between the English and French sides of our community. There are many volumes of Causeries, Mélanges, Revues, Essais, in French. Buies, Routhier, Marchand, Chauveau, and all the French writers of note are represented in this class. Such writing in English has seldom been published in the form of books. I remember a book called "Trifles from my Portfolio," by Dr. Walter Henry, a retired army surgeon, published at Quebec by Neilson in 1839. The doctor had been stationed at St. Helena while Napoleon Bonaparte was confined there and he had some interesting

things to say about that. There were other army experiences but his experiences in salmon fishing took up a good share of the two volumes. Writing of this class will, however, be found abundantly in the contributions to the Saturday editions of the leading newspapers of the large cities. Much of it is exceedingly good—and while we read with pleasure the weekly contributions of Martin Griffin, John Reade, Bernard McEvoy or George Murray, we feel regret that so much learning and cleverness should be in so ephemeral a form. I am glad however to recall in this connection Dr. Alexander's "Introduction to the Poetry of Robert Browning." For critical insight and appreciation the volume is worthy of remark.

One name must always be remembered when we take account of Canadian letters and that is the creator of the inimitable Yankee peddler Sam Slick. Judge Haliburton unconsciously created a type, to be as well known as Sam Weller, and while he was intent only upon quizzing his fellow Nova Scotians in the columns of a Halifax newspaper, he woke up to find himself a favourite among the literary people of London.

But literature, in the opinion of the majority of the present day, consists mainly of fiction. More than three-fourths of the books taken out from the public libraries are novels, and the world in its old age is going back to the story tellers. Nor are we able to endure the long novels which held our parents in rapt attention. The stories must be shorter and the more pictures the better. This last phase of literature is cultivated by all our younger writers and, while the task is too extensive for anything but most imperfect performance, a few words on this branch of my subject are necessary. One remark only I venture to make in the way of criticism, that, while in science we have produced some few men who stand in the very front of their respective subjects, we cannot boast yet of a novelist who has taken rank with the great masters of the craft and none, perhaps, who have attained to the very

fore-front of the second class ; but then it is only a few years since we made a beginning.

We cannot commence our review of Canadian fiction with the "History of Emily Montague," published in 1769. Even if it was written at Quebec the authoress was an English-woman not a permanent resident ; nor even with "St. Ursula's Convent" for, although that story was published at Kingston in 1824, no one seems to know who wrote it nor does there appear to be a copy now in existence.* We must commence with Major Richardson's "Écarté," published in New York in 1829. In 1833 he published "Wacousta," a tale of Pontiac's war. It is really a good novel and contains an excellent picture of the siege of Detroit. The same author published at Montreal "The Canadian Brothers," in 1840, and afterwards four or five other novels in New York. In 1833 two members of the Strickland family, Mrs. Moodie and Mrs. Traill, came to Canada and settled near Peterborough. They kept up their literary activity during their lives. Mrs. Moodie wrote many books, and, from 1852 to 1860, she produced a number of fair novels. At the same time Mrs. Leprohon was writing stories. Her first novel appeared in the "Literary Garland," in 1848, and she followed it with a number of others.

The Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, in 1852, led the way in French novel writing with "Charles Guérin," and was followed in 1863, in "Les Anciens Canadiens," by Philippe Aubert De Gaspé, which has recently been translated and published in New York. It is thought to be the best French Canadian novel, although it was its author's first book, and was written when he was past seventy. Then followed Bourassa, Marmette, Beaugrand, Gérin-Lajoie and others, but no important work was produced.

* Kingsford (Early Bibliography, p. 30) observes that "it is stated" that Miss Julia Beckwith, of Fredericton, wrote this book. The same statement has been repeated as a certainty in a recent issue of the "Montreal Star." No evidence of this has however been adduced. Dr. Kingsford never saw a copy of the book, and I have never met anyone who has seen it. Our knowledge of it is derived from a contemporary review.

I do not recall anything in English of note until 1877, when William Kirby published "Le Chien d'Or." This was long thought to be the best Canadian novel. It has met with much favour outside of Canada. The story, as given in the legend, is intrinsically of very exceptional interest, and it is told with considerable literary skill.

Since then writers of stories have become numerous in Canada. It will be impossible to mention more than a few. Miss Machar, of Kingston, has written some capital novels of Canadian life. Mr. James Macdonald Oxley is fully equal to the best writers of books of adventure for boys. Since 1877 he has produced a surprising number of books; published usually out of Canada though all upon Canadian life and history.

Gilbert Parker is the chief name among Canadian writers of fiction and has won high position in the mother land. Although he now resides in England, his subjects are Canadian and his books abound with local colour and incident. He stands now among the leading novelists of the day.

During the last few years William McLennan has made a reputation far beyond the limits of Canada, not only by his dialect stories, but by his charming book, "Spanish John," a novel without a woman and yet full of interest. This book is remarkable for its singularly pure English style. "The Span o' Life," which he wrote in collaboration with Miss McIlwraith (a Hamilton lady well known as a contributor of bright essays and stories in British and American magazines) is a novel of the same period as the "Chien d'Or." It is written with the same charm of style as Mr. McLennan's other books. The plot is original and there is a very loveable heroine in it. The setting is historically true and the local colour is faithful.

Miss Lily Dougall, not long ago, surprised the English public by a strong novel in an original vein, "Beggars All," published by Longman. The subject was not Canadian, but her later books deal with more familiar scenes. Nor should

we omit to count Miss Blanche Macdonald and Mrs. Harrison in the number of our novelists. We must not forget to make mention also of William Lighthall, whose two novels "The Young Seigneur" and "The False Repentigny" have met with much acceptance. Within the last few weeks Miss Agnes Laut, of Ottawa, has published "The Lords of the North," a novel upon the struggle between the two great fur companies which entitles her to an assured place among Canadian writers of fiction.

Mrs. Coates, now of Calcutta, formerly Sara Jeannette Duncan, of one of our Canadian cities, has written books, not only bright and interesting, but with a vein of most charming humour. One was a volume of travels around the world, another "The American Girl in London," an exceedingly clever story which appeared first in the "Illustrated London News," and the third "A Voyage of Consolation." She has written other books, but these are her best.

Robert Barr is a Canadian, now well established in England as a popular writer, whose first success was in Canadian story writing. He has recently chosen other themes, and two of his later books "Tekla" and "The Strong Arm" are historical novels of the Holy Roman Empire at the period of Rodolph of Hapsburg. His writings are sparkling and clever, but he has much to learn before he begins to understand anything of that complex institution, the Holy Roman Empire.

It is a far cry to Rodolph of Hapsburg—and the Rev. Charles W. Gordon, of Winnipeg (better known as Ralph Connor) has had the insight to find, among devoted missionaries on the outskirts of civilization, heroes who are fighting among the foothills of the Rocky Mountains as real a battle for civil order and righteousness as Rodolph ever fought. In "Black Rock" and the "Sky Pilot" are vivid pictures of life on the western plains and mountains. In that grand and solemn world which he describes with loving power his heroes labour and struggle and endure—true Galahads fighting the ceaseless battle of good against the evil and recklessness and

profanity of border life. Stories these are—and good stories —but they are more, they are tonics for enfeebled faith, full of literary vigour and instinct with highest truth.

The latest development of modern literature is the short story, and E. W. Thompson, now on the staff of the "Youth's Companion" is a master in that art. There are many others, well known in the popular American magazines, among them Duncan Campbell Scott, better known as a poet; W. A. Fraser, and Dr. Frechette (whose French poetry was crowned by the Academy of France) who has achieved the success of writing a book of capital short stories in English and so of winning laurels in two languages.

Ernest Seton Thompson occupies a place by himself in his books "Wild Animals I have Known," "The Sand-hill Stag," and "The Biography of a Grizzly." The sympathetic naturalist tells these stories from the animal's own point of view—a method which imparts much freshness into the narration. Mr. Thompson's skill as an artist adds charm to his books, and his wife, accomplished not only in the art of getting up pretty books but also in the unconventional art of taking care of herself on the western prairies, has contributed another volume, "A Woman Tenderfoot," to our open air literature. Mr. W. A. Fraser has gone further in this direction and his "Mooswa and others of the Boundaries," makes the wild animals talk as they do in Kipling's "Jungle Book." His hero is a moose whose moral character has developed beyond that of the usual run of the Christians who hunt and trap in the spruce forests of the upper Athabasca. Our natural history is leading us back to Aesop and the dawn of literature, but our wild animals have not the keen wit and didactic brevity of the Greek creatures. They tend towards diffuseness and to the north-west superfluity of expletives.

Canadian history and scenery are beginning to make their appearance in novels by outside writers who, having no real knowledge of either, seek it in the pages of Francis Parkman

with indifferent success. We may read with amused wonder (in a very successful American novel) of Daulac's wife—a Laval-Montmorenci — starting from Montreal in the year 1660 for Carillon on the Ottawa, with one Indian girl attendant, making a raft at Ste. Anne's with knives and floating up the current to the north shore. We may follow her there to the seven chapels on the mountain where she and her attendant sleep and find food convenient for them in the bread and roasted birds which a pious devotee is accustomed to place upon the altar. It is only eighteen years since Maisonneuve landed, but Daulac has on Isle St. Bernard, at the mouth of the Chateauguay, a strong baronial castle built of stone with lancet windows, and we follow him also with wonder as he steps into his canoe at midnight and goes down to Montreal by the Lachine rapids, evidently his usual route to town ; but this was his last trip down for he was preparing for his fight at the Long Sault. In like manner Dr. Conan Doyle in the "Refugees," with much ingenuity rescues some Huguenots at Quebec from imprisonment for their faith. A fanatical Franciscan friar tracks them up the St. Lawrence and Richelieu rivers until they find refuge from persecution in the English colonies. This is hard to bear ; for New France is the only region where there has never been persecution for the sake of religion. The only law relating to Huguenots was that they could not winter in the country without permission, or assemble for public worship. From such absurdities as these we must look to our native writers to protect us. It is enough for Edwin and Angelina to harrow our feelings with their woes without harrowing our geography and history also.

Apart from the choice of subject matter the prospect for a distinctive Canadian school of literature is not bright ; and, in truth, any provincial narrowness of style or language is not desirable. Our writers can reflect lustre on their country only when they venture into the broad world of our language and conquer recognition in the great realm of

Anglo-Saxon letters. The great centres of our race, where are to be won the great prizes of life, must always attract the brightest and most ambitious spirits. One of our own people—a successful author now in London, writes in the "Canadian Magazine" to reproach us for under-estimating ourselves. It is a good fault, even if uncommon among English speakers. Our youth are unlearning it; but they will not grow great by self-assertion, only by performance. I have tried to set forth in detail the reasons of our retarded commencement—our growth of late years has been rapid. We have to guard against materialism and to watch lest literature be oppressed by the pursuit of practical science. We see the workers toiling and we hear the din, but the world is saved by the dreamers who keep the intellect of mankind sane and sweet by communion with the ideal. Canada must not regret her children if they achieve fame in other lands. John Bonner and William G. Sewell left Quebec long ago for the "Herald," and "Harper" and the "New York Times." Lanigan wrote "The Akhound of Swat" one night waiting for telegrams in the "World" office. Nova Scotia lost John Foster Kirk, who completed Prescott's great task, and Simon Newcomb, of the United States Navy Department, Astronomer and Mathematician. From New Brunswick went Professor De Mille the brilliant author of the "Dodge Club," George Teall the archivist and leading writer of South Africa, and May Agnes Fleming,—a story writer who for many years earned with her pen in New York an income as large as that of a cabinet minister at Ottawa. From Kingston went Grant Allen and Prof. George Romanes —the latter a star of intellect in the regions of the higher science where it touches the realm of metaphysics. His premature death was lamented as a loss to Cambridge University. I could tell of many others if there were time—but I must close.

We read that, in remote ages, the followers of Pythagoras, and, in mediaeval times, the adepts of the Rosy Cross had

the power of separating at will their souls from their bodies ; and then their spirits would travel away with the speed of thought and hover in the semblance of stars over far-off lands. But always a long trail of faint phosphorescent light connected the shining spirit with the quiet body in which its light was born.

So it is with us—we follow with interest the fortunes of our countrymen—we rejoice in their advancement, and star after star may leave us, but still we feel that their success is ours and some faint lustre of their brilliance quickens with pride the heart of their motherland.

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